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LECTURE XXXV.

EIRE.

From the conquest to Grattan (1172—1788).

IRELAND'S nearness to GREAT BRITAIN has profoundly moulded its history. It is the key to its past; it will be the key to its future.

The national characteristics of the Celts are a reckless bravery, improvidence, absence of cohesion, a love for art, especially music and poetry, an attachment for things spiritual, an intense religious faith, an aptitude for humour, but withal a lack of grip upon realities. Such, in varying degrees, and with exceptions and contradictions, are the Irish people of to-day.

IRELAND was overrun a couple of millenniums ago by a tribe called the Scots, who were Gaels, a branch of the Celts, who later on spread to the Highlands of SCOTLAND and gave their name to SCOTLAND. They were early converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, the patron saint of IRELAND, and the Irish Church became a model of piety and learning in those rude ages, but politically there was chaos for another 600 years with numerous kings in the country fighting one another like Kilkenny cats. Then, in the 12th century, one of them called in Henry II of ENGLAND and some adventurous Norman barons were allowed to go and fight for whomsoever they pleased, and settle in the island. This they did in 1172, and thenceforward, the English Kings claimed to be the overlords of the native rulers. Part of the Eastern seaboard was partitioned off and fortified, and called the English 'Pale', and there alone the actual government of ENGLAND ran. The Tudor monarchy,

strong at home, made its hand felt in IRELAND, and by the Poynings' Acts, (1494) the English Parliament began to exercise genuine authority over the sister isle.

IRELAND was intensely Catholic and continues to be so. The attempt to extend the Reformation in ENGLAND by *force majeure* to IRELAND, was one of the principal causes of estrangement between the two peoples. The reign of Queen Elizabeth, so glorious in the annals of the English, opened the page of Irish tragedy. She forced the English Protestant Church on IRELAND, and she confiscated large tracts of land and settled Englishmen on them, to act as a permanent garrison. Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's minister, himself stated disapprovingly that "The Flemings had not so much cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as the Irish against the tyranny of ENGLAND". It was not a successful venture; IRELAND was never really subdued; and fresh intervention in force became vitally necessary for ENGLAND'S safety, half a century later.

All outstanding problems were intensified and made permanent by the conquest of IRELAND by Cromwell, who having defeated her armies, ruthlessly and unjustly expropriated her lands, and drove the people off them. After the Restoration in BRITAIN, Catholic IRELAND again raised her head. But when James II, himself a Catholic, was forced from the throne of BRITAIN, the usurper William III of Orange finally destroyed Catholic aspirations at the battle of the Boyne in 1688, and established the ascendency of the Protestant landowners. There was a nominal Parliament in DUBLIN, but since the disabilities of the Catholics in their own land was complete—they could neither vote nor be elected nor hold office—it was hardly more than an instrument of oppression in the hands of the minority. During these dark days, the nation as such lay crushed politically and economically and even culturally; only the Roman Catholic Church remained a coherent and cementing force.

Henry Grattan.

The American War of Independence (1775—1788) re-lit the national ardour of the Irish, and also afforded an opportunity for them to organise and arm. Henry Grattan, the greatest of Irish orators, got the Parliament at DUBLIN to pass a resolution voting for its independence from the English. This had to be acquiesced in by the English Government, and a truly independent Irish Parliament thus came into existence—Grattan's Parliament as it was called—with the Catholics electorally emancipated (1793). But it is very interesting to note here that Grattan was "**firmly convinced of the necessity of preserving the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and was of opinion that Ireland, should give Great Britain decided and unequivocal support in time of War.**"

The French Revolution. The next great external event to produce a ferment in the minds of the excitable Irish was the French Revolution (1788). It led to the formation of an extreme party in IRELAND called the "United Irishmen', and Pitt sent Lord Fitzwilliam to be Viceroy of IRELAND with an incautious promise to the Irish that the English Government was in favour of full Catholic Emancipation, and would allow Catholics to sit in the British Parliament in LONDON. Amidst the hopes and opposition which such an announcement engendered, the Viceroy was suddenly recalled! "Fitzwilliam's proposal and subsequent recall mark a fatal turning point in Irish history." The society of the 'United Irishmen' became a nefarious, underground terrorist movement, which aimed at the total separation of Great BRITAIN and IRELAND; and against it, the extreme Protestants organised the society of the 'Orangemen'—a bitter division which has persisted ever since.

Pitt and the Act of Union 1800. While the Napoleonic war was going on, Pitt was forced to the conclusion that a separate Irish Parliament was a source of danger, and that a Union of the Parliaments, as in the case of SCOTLAND, with a measure for Catholic Emancipation, might solve the Irish problem once for all. After much persuasion and considerable bribery the Irish Parliament voted the Act of Union in 1800, and signed its own death warrant. Pitt's statesmanlike anticipations might have been completely fulfilled, had not George III stood in the way by an unexpected inability to reconcile his oath as King with the grant of Catholic Emancipation! Pitt resigned on the issue, and another opportunity in the history of IRELAND was lost.

Scotland and Ireland compared ENGLAND and SCOTLAND were probably at the time of their Union in 1707 not better disposed towards one another than ENGLAND and IRELAND a century later in 1800, but common religion and common interests made the Union a real union of hearts. Religion, economics and, shall we add, unsympathetic handling emphasised the lines of cleavage in the case of IRELAND. This underlying antagonism became almost inequitably important because under the party system the Irish party in the House of Commons, occupied a position of vantage. With it lay the balance of power. It made ministries and unmade them. Politics at times have meant "IRELAND and nothing else" as Lord Salisbury bitterly remarked.

The three problems of Ireland. There were three outstanding questions connected with IRELAND. Disraeli summarised them as '(1) a starving people (2) an alien church and (3) an absentee aristocracy', and the history of IRELAND in the 19th century centres round the attempts of English statesmen to solve these three questions.

Daniel O' Connell. The next great name in the annals of IRELAND is Daniel O'Connell, who could hold spell-bound record audiences of his excitable countrymen, amounting at times to more than a lakh. "His influence was nearly always used in favour of constitutional agitation and against agrarian outrages, and still more against armed rebellion, whilst his loyalty to the Crown was unshaken, and in Queen Victoria's reign, even enthusiastic." He used the Catholic Association as his instrument, and he led a whirlwind campaign in favour of removing the ban on the eligibility of Catholics to stand for Parliament. He himself stood as a candidate for County Clare, though as a Catholic he could not do so. He was returned by an overwhelming majority in 1828. Lord Wellington who was Prime Minister yielded, and passed an Act which conferred the same political privileges on Catholics as the Protestants had. O' Connell went on to wage bitter strife against the payment of tithes by Catholics towards the upkeep of Protestant churches. This agitation too was successful, and the burden was rightly shifted to the shoulders of the Protestant landlords. O'Connell next inaugurated the Home Rule movement, which became a live issue from that date, but he was imprisoned as a seditionary, lost his influence, and died a broken-hearted man.

Gladstone. We have seen the shining names of Pitt and Wellington setting themselves to the Herculean task of solving the Irish problem. The next in order, and the greatest in this respect probably, is Gladstone He disestablished the Irish Protestant Church in 1869, and settled the "Alien Church" question once for all. But the principal problem of IRELAND now was mainly economic—'absentee landlordism'. Gladstone passed his first great ameliorative Irish Land Bill, which provided for compensation to tenants for improvements, and protected them against undue eviction. But this was only a half way house; the real problem was to make the Irish tenant again the full owner of his land. In the meanwhile, Charles Stewart Parnell, the silent, inscrutable, extremist leader of the Irish party, had risen to power, and with the aid of the Land League had changed the Irish Party in the House of Commons into one of the most formidable of opposition parties. Gladstone passed his Second Irish Land Act in 1881, but even this had not the desired effect, and when the Secretary for IRELAND, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered by Fenians in DUBLIN, coercion had once more to be adopted. Gradually, however, Gladstone's mind moved towards Home Rule for IRELAND, and in 1886 he introduced a Bill in the House of Commons to that end. It provided for an Irish Parliament, to have control over purely Irish affairs; but IRELAND was to remain part of the UNITED KINGDOM, having no separate military, foreign or financial policy of its own. Gladstone also contemplated another Land Bill for purchase of all the lands from the landlords.

Acute controversy arose over the Bill in ENGLAND. Many Liberals seceded from the party, and Gladstone's ministry fell in 1886. Then, while he was out of office, there was a divorce case in which Parnell was concerned. The opponents of the Home Rule Bill made the most of the sensation, the Irish Party split, and Parnell's influence was gone. Irish history is one long tragedy of such accidents. Again and again the cup has been near her lips, but some unforeseen accident—the religious scruple of a George III, the stupid murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the O'Shea divorce incident—dashed it once more to the ground. Nevertheless, Gladstone, undaunted brought in a new Home Rule Bill in 1893, in his 83rd year, and by sheer force of his great character and name had it passed in the House of Commons. The Lords threw it out, and Gladstone resigned in 1894.

From Gladstone down to date. In 1907 an Irish Council Bill intended to confine the Irish Government to merely Irish matters such as Taxation, was opposed by the Irish and it was dropped. The next move was by Asquith, who brought his Irish Home Rule Bill in 1912. It provided for a unitary Irish Government, including Protestant ULSTER, and had the support of the Catholic Irish. It was passed by the House of Commons in January 1913, but once more the Lords threw it out. Meanwhile ULSTER, headed by Lord Carson, trained volunteers and prepared to resist it by force, if necessary. Asquith brought the Bill again before an assenting House of Commons in May 1914, but the Lords amended the Bill to exclude ULSTER from its provisions. At a third attempt in September 1914 the Act was passed by both the Houses, but another Bill was moved to the effect that the Act should only come into effect after the war, when the position in ULSTER should be suitably dealt with. The Bill never came into effect.

In the course of this hectic legislation, tempers and loyalties in IRELAND ran high. The formation of the ULSTER Volunteers had its counter-part in the Irish Volunteers of Southern IRELAND, and the formation of a Citizen Army. There was a Constitutional Home Rule Party under John Redmond, but the Sirn Feiners and other extremists worked hard to break away from BRITAIN, and under German instigation, there was a small rising in 1916. German supplies were captured and German help forestalled, and Sir Roger Casement, a notable British Ex-consul, who was working as an agent of GERMANY, was captured and executed. Several attempts at a settlement foundered on the rock of whether IRELAND should include or exclude ULSTER. Meanwhile the elected representatives constituted themselves into a Dail (National Assembly) and passed a declaration of independence, and proceeded to elect their own ministers in 1918. Unfortunately a violent section of Irish irreconcilables began an 'Anglo-Irish war', which continued from January 1919 to May 1921, over which the Dail had no control and which was no part

of its programme. Fanatical 'patriots' instituted a campaign of murder against officials, the Irish constabulary, and other servants of or sympathisers with the Government. This led not unnaturally to reprisals, and the famous "Black and Tans" a mixed army of war veterans, police and other logyalists were sent over to IRELAND by Mr. Lloyd George to restore order. One of the darkest periods of Irish history—a tale of shootings, murders, arson, looting and suffering of innocent victims, then began, and it was not until December 1921 that the Anglo-Irish Treaty, was passed, which declared IRELAND to be a Dominion. ULSTER was to be allowed the choice of remaining a part of IRELAND or of having a separate constitution. ULSTER chose the latter.

The new Dominion encountered stormy weather at the outset. The extreme Republicans under De Valera stood out and opposed the Treaty. There were difficulties—economic and political. There was fresh civil war. Arthur Griffiths, who had taken a leading part in the negotiations, died in 1922. Michael Collins, another able leader, was murdered on 22—8—22. But the Provisional Government which had ratified the Treaty made way for a regular Government, and T. M. Healy was appointed the First Governor General in December 1922. Cosgrave became the first President, and by 1923 the new constitution was fairly under weigh. On 10—9—23 IRELAND joined the League of Nations as a separate Power, and even De Valera allowed his extreme Republicans to take part in the proceedings of the DUBLIN Parliament.

The present problem. IRELAND to-day presents an intriguing example of a country which has been linked for 750 years by history, tradition, and commerce to a principal belligerent, remaining neutral. What has been and is her attitude to the War? Can she effectively retain the neutrality which she aims at? These are the questions uppermost in the minds of Englishmen and Irishmen alike.

Attitude to War. There appears to be a wide difference between the English and the Irish in their attitude towards politics. The Englishman does not, and cannot afford to cherish feelings of rancour towards peoples and countries who have come under English dominion. If he did, he would entertain feelings of animosity against the U.S.A., the French in CANADA, we Indians in INDIA, the Boers in AFRICA, and IRELAND herself. No political power that did so could be called great, and the Britisher has a particular knack of *not* reopening settled questions. Hence it is that all parties in Great BRITAIN, even those who were most bitterly opposed to the grant of Home Rule, are most anxious that the unhappy past should be forgotten, and a new chapter of better mutual understanding in social, economical and political matters should be opened. In short, the

Britisher envisages IRELAND developing in its relations with BRITAIN precisely as the Dominions have so successfully done. ENGLAND would undoubtedly have been *immensely* proud and pleased if IRELAND had reacted as CANADA, South AFRICA, AUSTRALIA and INDIA did, on the outbreak of the War.

On the other hand the generation of Irish people who fought so bitterly for Home Rule has not yet died out. The men at the helm of Irish affairs are people who were reared in acrimonious debates and animosities, nor have they the necessary political training to grasp the ultimate realities of present-day politics. Hence, when the War seemed little more than a stalemate, behind the Maginot and Siegfried lines, the Irish treated the issue with a light-heartedness that amounted to indifference. In such mood, De Valera proclaimed the neutrality of IRELAND, and the Dail Eirearn confirmed it ! Even the precaution of blackouts was soon relaxed ! But when DENMARK and NORWAY were overrun by GERMANY, and when later on the Low Countries and FRANCE were conquered, Irish politicians, seemed to awake to the dangerous strategic importance of their island, so that after the close of the French campaign, while Hitler pondered and attempted the invasion of BRITAIN, De Valera, genuinely alarmed, warned the nation of the desperate danger they were in. A National Defence Council was actually formed, including representatives of Cosgrave's party and the Labour Party, but alas, as you may gather from our remarks earlier, the Irish are little able, even in times of great stress, to sink their own internal differences, or to work harmoniously with erstwhile opponents. **Unfortunately, this seems to be an inherent and fundamental characteristic of the Irish nation, and it has to be taken into serious account in forming any estimate of the present situation**. The several leaders—De Valera, Cosgrave, and Norton have indeed addressed the people from a common platform, but there has been no real union of hearts, no evolution of a strong, united national policy. The National Defence Council may prove hardly more than a high sounding name, with no real power, and little able to initiate or pursue the vigorous and radical measures which the times demand.

For instance, there was a positive outcry in IRELAND against the blackouts, on the ground that no neutral country was enforcing them! De Valera, though he pertinently pointed to the example of SWITZERLAND, ordered relaxation. The result was what was scarcely intended or expected. The lights of EIRE served as a beacon to the Nazi planes and U. Boats in their attacks on the Atlantic shipping, while the British Navy could not use the ports of EIRE, nor British planes her landing places. Winston Churchill referred to this serious handicap in his speech in the House of Commons ; it was a bare statement of facts, without anything querulous or minatory in it, and the moral was emphasised when GERMANY actually violated IRELAND'S neutrality. About the end of last year bombs were dropped from aeroplanes

on Irish territory. The planes were shot down and found to be German. When EIRE protested, the Germans denied that the planes belonged to them, and EIRE did nothing. But she has had her warning !

The Military Strength of Eire. EIRE has a regular Militia of 27,000 men only, but following the example of the British Home Guard, she has formed a Local Security Force (L. S. F.). One hundred thousand men of the L. S. F. are to constitute a Territorial Army. Possibly, the total military strength of EIRE now is somewhere about 200,000. *But*, it is neither modern in equipment nor mechanised ; the Irish Air Force is definitely inadequate ; EIRE'S Naval strength is almost negligible ! Latterly, it is true, the Irish have been sending agitated appeals to President Roosevelt for arms and munitions, but, very brave fighters as the Irish have always been, the days of mere personal bravery are over ; and that of mechanised columns, and dive-bombers have come. It is difficult to see what chance the Irish have against an onrush of German tanks and mobile motor columns, supported by their Junker planes, should the Nazis take it into their heads that IRELAND is worth occupation.

To be neutral—or not to be ? We shall acquit the Irish of any leanings towards Nazism. They hate it as much as the British. The EIRE Government has dealt as sternly with the I. R. A. as the British Government has done. It is honestly trying to cope with the Fifth Column activities of Nazi spies. As usual in days of BRITAIN'S trials very large numbers of the Irish have joined the British colours. Many of the political, military, naval and air leaders of BRITAIN are pure blooded Irishmen. There is an immense amount of sympathy for the countries conqured by GERMANY, sympathy and admiration for the British who are standing up so splendidly to the Nazi bombings. With the lesson of the four countries which have vainly tried to maintain neutrality before it, IRELAND cannot but be aware that its present professions are hardly worth a minute's purchase, especially as the danger of an invasion of ENGLAND is not yet past, and will not be past until GERMANY is beaten to its knees. With the Channel ports in their hands, an IRELAND weak and disorganised is an ideal German spring-board for an attack on BRITAIN from the west. And no amount of staunch neutrality will avail IRELAND, no scruples will hold back GERMANY once the militarists of that country choose to strike at it. It is only the British Navy that has stood in the way of such an invasion. And the Irish know that too.

Then what really prevents the Irish from concerting measures for the defence of their realm ? The answer is that for such purposes they must allow the British the use of their bases—military, naval and air. There is a small section of the Irish, the old generation, which believes that if the British got

into IRELAND again, it would not be easy to get them out. This die-hard section is the most vociferous, organised and influential section of political IRELAND. They removed the moderate Cosgrave administration and put in the extremist De Valera one, and De Valera is afraid to go against this group. It is extremly doubtful whether there is any leader in EIRE who can at present propose the inevitable but highly unpopular step of staff-talks with BRITAIN, and the placing of Irish bases at her disposal for the period of the war. A leader of the type of President Roosevelt or Winston Churchill might carry such a proposition, but EIRE has not got such leaders. Its present leaders are hardly more than successful agitators, who have come into power on the change-over from British administration to Home Rule. *Punch* has recently hit off exactly the policy of De Valera in one of its cartoons. The proverbial ostrich (with Mr. De Valera's face) is burying its head in a bucket of sand, labelled "Strict neutrality", and the gibe is no more unkindly than it is accurate. No responsible leader, no thinking man in EIRE, can really believe that BRITAIN wants to go back upon its grant of Home Rule in 1921, or that if allowed the use of strategic bases she will misuse them or refuse to clear out of EIRE after the war is over. Occasions have actually arisen (as at the time of the heavy shipping losses in the autumn) when BRITAIN in mere self-protection might have justifiably taken the chance of seizing the island, and putting it to her own uses. GERMANY certainly would not have hesitated to do so. Yet the English code of international morality forbids her to give the Irish the least cause of apprehension on this score.

Nevertheless, the advantages of EIRE shedding its neutrality and ranging itself on the side of the Dominions, are obvious and important. (1) She would cease to be a source of danger to herself, and she would cease to be a source of danger to GREAT BRITAIN, and consequently to victory, and the cause of democracy itself. (2) EIRE has been hit hard by the blockade and counter-blockade, a sign of which was the acute crisis in food and other supplies at the end of 1940. If instead of depending upon her own resources she joined BRITAIN, the problem of her supplies would be undertaken by the Imperial Defence Council. (3) She can naturally and automatically fit into the future framework of the British Empire, or any other world scheme, without losing her individuality. (4) She might transcend and forget her parochial quarrels—between the Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, between Labour and the I.R.A., and between other parties too numerous to mention—and learn for the first time to approach national problems from an all-parties' national view-point. Without such an approach in times of stress and strain no country can hope to survive. (5) Northern IRELAND, which is intensely loyal to BRITAIN has never forgiven EIRE for what it deems her 'treachery'—this neutrality pose. Yet the EIRE Government desires, above all things, the adhesion of the six northern Protestant counties, and her entry into the War would facilitate

habits of joint consultation on all vital matters, and must hasten the day of a strong, united IRELAND, an integral and self-governing part of the biggest Empire on earth.

Now there are two things which may hasten the advent of EIRE into the war. With her large elements of Irish families who were forced out of their homes by British misgovernment, the U. S. A. is the country which EIRE has long regarded as her friend, philosopher and guide. Nowadays, however, American opinion is overwhelmingly against EIRE'S remaining neutral, and the disinterested advice of AMERICA may possibly bring about a marked change in public opinion in EIRE. Observers from AMERICA like Wendell Willkie and Col. Donovon have visited EIRE to gauge and understand things for themselves, and will probably have urged this as the path of prudence and safety. The second alternative is full of sinister possibilities, viz., the invasion of EIRE by GERMANY. BRITAIN would then *have* to step in without prior staff-talks, without prior co-ordination, by their leave or without their leave, to defend EIRE. The risk that way lies in their being already too late. Indeed, if EIRE refuses to cast off her neutrality, and join the British Empire, the worlds's verdict on EIRE might then be :—

> One task more declined, one more foot-path untrod,
> One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,
> One wrong more to man, one more insult to God.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

6—3—41 to 12—3—41.

The Lease and Lend Bill.—The aid to BRITAIN, or what is known as the Lease and Lend Bill was passed by the UNITED STATES Senate on March 8, by 60 votes to 31 after a heated debate lasting 17 days, and a final session of 11 hours. All amendments objecting to the transfer of aircraft and naval vessels, and against convoying were defeated, while a Government Bill to include agricultural commodities among the articles of defence was accepted. On the 11th, Congress gave its final approval to the measure, when the House of Representatives agreed to the Senate's amendments, and passed the Bill by 317 votes to 71. The President also signed it on the same day.

The Bill ensures every possible co-operation between the UNITED STATES and democracies short of War. In the words of Mr. Sol. Bloom, the Bill is 'the voice of a roused AMERICA sounding the trumpet-call to victory for free Government everywhere. By this action the UNITED STATES gives the lie to the cowardly defeatist cry that democracy is powerless in the face of aggression '.

In a radio talk on March 9, the President has assured us that American granaries, which are full of 'stores of food and fibre' will be available for the friends of freedom in other lands now 'fighting against world control by dictatorships '.

The first result of the passing of the Bill will be to ship war materials of the estimated value of £ 325,000,000, chartering 37 Danish vessels in American ports, if necessary, and to despatch about 75 destroyers, (?) a fleet of 'mosquito' boats, cruisers and food, particularly pork, cheese and wheat.

The war at Sea.—Details are now available of the British naval raid on the LOFOTENS, which took place last week. It was a neat little operation as it went, a rehearsal of the kind of offensive to come, and a foretaste of what may happen any day, at any point, all along the European coastline now occupied by GERMANY. The object of the raid was three-fold—to destroy the fish-oil industry, so important to the enemy in the preparation of explosives, to destroy enemy ships and to make prisoners of the enemy on the spot. Nine German ships and a trawler, together with a Norwegian merchant ship, totalling 18,000 tons were sunk, oil factories in four ports were destroyed, and 215 Germans together with 10 Quislings were taken prisoners. Incidentally food and clothes were distributed to the needy population, and 300 Norwegian patriots who wished to join their countrymen in BRITAIN, in preference to slavery were taken on board, and brought to BRITAIN, where they had the honour of being given a personal welcome by King Haakon himself.

It is surprising that when the British warships raided these islands, which are described as 'Hitler's back-door step', for hours, no attempt was made to stop the landing, except an unavailing opposition from a few armoured trawlers, three of which, however, were promptly sunk soon after ; but after the event, the Nazi Governor, has, in true Nazi fashion, ordered the burning of the houses of all the Norwegian patriots

who have left the country. Evidently in order to implement the threat delivered recently at the Beer cellar, to cut the ocean life-line of the Empire and to impede the flow of vital American help, Hitler has started an offensive in the Atlantic ocean as the first phase of his Battle of BRITAIN for 1941. The losses for the week ended at midnight on March 2 amounted to 29 ships of 148,000 tons, which though only half the fantastic figure announced by the enemy, are heavy enough and constitute the third highest figure since the war began. These losses are not unexpected, in view of the supreme effort the enemy is making, and will no doubt be counter-balanced in due course, by the destruction of the enemy raiders both on the sea and in the air. Counter-measures are being adopted; and the loss is not expected to continue at this rate.

Judging from past events there is no reason to entertain any undue pessimism. The total British losses of about 4,300,000 tons since the war began have been mostly made up by construction, purchase and capture, so that the net loss after 18 months of warfare is only 4·8%. As Admiral Cunningham of the Mediterranean Fleet has said, 'a good many springs will go by, but BRITAIN will continue to remain the mistress of the seas.'

The Balkans.—The Balkan situation at present may be summed up as consisting of some facts and a good many conjectures and rumours, both grave and gay. It is now certain that the occupation of RUMANIA is complete, judged by Antonescu's latest manifesto that it is more economical for RUMANIA to maintain a German army than one of its own! The Bulgarian occupation is proceeding apace, the troops being concentrated at PLOUDIU. The British Minister in BULGARIA has left SOFIA and reached ISTANBUL, accompanied by the representatives of POLAND, BELGIUM and HOLLAND. On his way a dastardly attempt was made on the British Minister's life by trying to wreck his train, while shortly after his arrival in ISTANBUL, a bomb concealed in one of his suit cases exploded in his hotel, smashing the ground floor, killing three and injuring twenty.

Rumours are afloat of a pact of 'friendship' between YUGOSLAVIA and GERMANY and another with RUSSIA; of an ultimatum sent by GERMANY to GREECE, insisting on her making her peace with ITALY, abandoning some of her territory in favour of BULGARIA, and ceding important bases to GERMANY for the period of the war. It has also been stated that consequent on the massing of German forces on her frontier,

the evacuation of the population of THRACE has been ordered. According to all accounts so far to hand GREECE is not prepared to give up her fight for freedom. The Turkish attitude is also firm. The recent refusal of the Turkish Cabinet to witness a Nazi film on 'Victory in the West', though invited by the German ambassador himself, is an indication of the Turkish state of mind.

War in Africa and Albania.—Meanwhile, BRITAIN carries on the war, aided by her allies. TRIPOLITANIA, the harbour of TRIPOLI in LIBYA was twice raided; GABREDARRE on the road to HARAR in Italian SOMALILAND was taken; and in ABYSSINIA, following the capture of BURYE, FERFER, JIMMA, DAMBACHA, DOLO and AFODU were occupied. Mussolini visited ALBANIA last week, evidently to hearten his soldiers, but unfortunately for him the week has seen four continuous days of Greek advance in the central sector, resulting in great Italian losses, including 3 Fascist leaders. The shameful circumstance is reported that Signor Bottai, ITALY's former minister for Education was killed while he was urging his Blackshirts to fire on his own troops to prevent their retreat. On his dead body has been found a message from Mussolini asking him to stop the Greek advance, as 'otherwise Fascism would die with a stain upon it.'

Air-Raids.—The R. A. F. carried out three offensives on the French Coast, and raided again WILHELMSHAVEN, EMDEN and COLOGNE. The Nazi Radio has issued a warning to German house-holders to be prepared for an intensified R. A. F. offensive in the spring.

After 8 weeks of calm, the German blitz started over LONDON on the 8th, when a high explosive dropped on a hotel when a dance was in progress, killing and trapping a number of dancers. GERMANY'S attitude to things holy may be inferred from the tale of 2,000 churches in LONDON and the provinces damaged or destroyed by Nazi vandalism. It is now known that out of a total of 3,123 German planes destroyed over BRITAIN, as many as 1,800 were accounted for by the A. A.

France.—Admiral Darlan has announced that in future French cargo vessels will be escorted by the French Navy. This means that he has yet to understand the implications of the policy behind the British blockade. BRITAIN will help FRANCE, only without helping GERMANY, whereas FRANCE has agreed in principle to economic co-operation with

GERMANY. Darlan may be responsible for feeding 40 million Frenchmen, but the British blockade is to free these 40 millions and many more from slavery.

It is not that BRITAIN is not disposed to adopt a humanitarian policy where there is no danger. For instance, she has allowed a cargo of food and other necessities for French children and invalids in an American vessel to reach MARSEILLES during the week. Another such consignment is due in 3 weeks.

Otherwise, the British blockade will not be relaxed either for the sake of Mr. Hoover's experimental Soup-kitchen for BELGIUM, or for Admiral Darlan's sake.

General Weygand, who came to VICHY during the week for the first time since he went to North AFRICA in October last, has now returned. He is said to have discussed French defence problems within the framework of the Armistice terms.

The presence of German troops at CASABLANCA in French MOROCCO was revealed in Parliament on March 5.

Italy.—According to a Trade agreement recently concluded, ITALY will supply GERMANY with fruits, vegetables, mercury, silver, hemp and silk amounting to 90 per cent. of her total trade, in exchange for coal and War materials. As ITALY will import more than she exports, the excess supply from GERMANY will be treated as a gift for the present, and written off or settled according to the fortunes of the war, after its conclusion.

It is now becoming clear that ITALY is fast becoming a province of the 'Greater Reich', its military occupation being even more complete than BULGARIA's. All harbours are under German control and the Gestapo rules the Italian police. Mussolini has launched a propaganda campaign through agents to hearten his people against the humiliating reverses in AFRICA, and to demand 'dead silence and blind faith.'

Following ITALY's closing down of the American consulates in NAPLES and PALERMO now under German occupation, the UNITED STATES has closed down the Italian consulates at DETROIT and NEWARK in UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, which have a large Italian population, mostly Fascist.

Far-East.—JAPAN's mediation or to put it correctly, her forced arbitration, was signed by the parties on the 11th. THAI obtains considerable territorial accessions, together with her coveted frontier on the Mekong river. JAPAN guarantees the settlement, which means Japanese aggression against French INDO-CHINA and THAILAND is going to begin. The Axis story in EUROPE may be repeated in the FAR-EAST, first mediation, then protection, finally absorption.

Matsuoka is visiting MOSCOW, BERLIN and ROME. One of the objects of his mission is said to be to discuss the situation arising out of the passing of the Lease and Lend Bill.

Britain.—The British budget under preparation is expected to be the largest in history. Fresh taxation, such as an impost on railway fares, and meals in restaurants will be introduced. The budget does not include expenditure which will be incurred under the Lease and Lend Bill.

At the time of a recent un-employment count it was estimated that there were probably 125,000 men out of work. But now even these have been absorbed, and the un-employment reservoir is exhausted. Mr. Bevin has appealed for the enlistment of 100,000 women for war-work.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has commanded that March 23 should be observed as a Day of thanksgiving and prayer—thanksgiving for blessings already received, and prayer for strength and guidance in the days to come.

R. A. F. Raids over Enemy and Enemy-occupied territories.

Date.	Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
3—3—41. (Monday.)			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	Military and Industrial objectives in COLOGNE.	...	A large number of fires started.
	Docks and Quays at BOULOGNE, OSTEND and BREST.	...	Battered.
	Offensive patrols over aerodromes in Northern FRANCE and Enemy-occupied territories.	... 1 plane.	Several German aircraft were destroyed or damaged.
	Docks and railway sidings at CALAIS.	...	...
	ALBANIA.		
	Motor transport concentrations in the TEPELENI area.	...	Heavy damage.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Enemy positions and the Fort at BURYE.	...	...
	The landing ground at ASMARA ...	...	Aircraft on the ground destroyed.
	Enemy motor transport near HABIMANTEL.	No loss.	Several vehicles set on fire.
4—3—41. (Tuesday).			
DAY :—			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	Aerodrome near BREST.	...	1 plane.
	ALBANIA.		
	Italian warships off KHIMARA and VALONA.	...	9 planes shot down. Many others damaged.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Air support to advancing BRITISH troops on all fronts in ITALIAN East AFRICA.	...	...
	Reconnaissance over ABYSSINA ...	...	...

Date. Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
5—3—41. (Wednesday).		
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
DAY :—		
The Docks and the inner harbour at BOULOGNE.	... 3 planes.	Big fires started. 1 plane.
Offensive sweep over the English Channel and Northern FRANCE.	...	7 planes destroyed and one other damaged.
THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.		
Patrol over the ATLANTIC.	...	2 planes.
6—3—41. (Thursday).		
ALBANIA.		
Italian battery positions and gun positions north of LUZATI (north of TEPELENI).	No loss.	Heavily damaged.
ITALIAN AFRICA.		
Troops, gun positions, motor transport, road junctions and railways in the CHEREN area.	...	Damaged.
A flying boat moored at ZULA.	...	Burnt out.
A supply depot at ASMARA.	...	Set on fire.
Support to advancing British troops in Italian East AFRICA	...	...
7—3—41. (Friday.)		
ALBANIA.		
Italian troop concentrations and other military objectives at the villages of BESIST and DRAGONI (in the TEPELENI Area).	...	Very heavy damage caused.
Offensive patrol over ALBANIA.	...	...
ITALIAN AFRICA.		
Railway and road junctions in the CHEREN Area.	...	...
Air support to troops in Italian East AFRICA.	...	...

Date	Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
7—3—41. (Friday.)—*cont.*			
	The harbour at TRIPOLI.	...	Railway line damaged
	Aerodromes in TRIPOLITANIA.	No loss	Damaged.
8—3—41. (Saturday.)			
	ALBANIA.		
	Italian troop concentrations and motor transport in the TEPELENI area and on the GLAVA-BUZI Road.	...	Heavy damage. and casualties.
	The harbour and installations at DURAZZO.	...	Fires started.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	HARAR ...	...	...
	Italian troops and positions in the CHEREN area.	...	...
	CHEREN-ASMARA road ...	...	...
	2 oil dumps and a lorry south of ASMARA.	No loss	Set on fire.
	The harbour at TRIPOLI ...	...	...
	Italian aerodromes in TRIPOLITANIA.	...	...
	Work-shops on the DECAMERE road.		
	The railway near HABIMANTEL.	...	...
9—3—41. (Sunday.)			
	ALBANIA.		
	Patrol duty over ALBANIA ...	1 plane; but the pilot is safe.	7 planes shot down; many planes damaged.
	The village of DUKAI ...	...	...
	Motor transport concentrations and gun positions in the DUKAI area.	...	Heavy loss.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Troop positions in the CHEREN area.	...	Heavy casualties.
	The aerodrome at DIREDAWA ...	...	Damaged.
	A train approaching the town and the town (**itself**) of ADDA GALLA.	...	Direct hit on the train.
	Harassing the Italian column retreating from BURYE.	...	...
	A village near DEBRA MARKOS (ABYSSINIA).	...	Set on fire.

Enemy Raids over BRITAIN; BRITISH and ALLIED Territories.

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. & Allied aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
3—3—41. (**Monday**).			
	GREECE.		
	Aerial fight over CORFU ...	5 planes	No loss.
	SUEZ CANAL.		
	Suez canal area ...	...	No damage or casualties.
4—3—41. (**Tuesday**).			
	BRITAIN.		
	NIGHT :—		
	BRISTOL Channel, **one area** in South WALES and **a few Other places** on the South coast and near the THAMES Estuary.	3 planes	A few fires which started soon put out. Slight damage and a few casulties.
5—3—41. (**Wednesday**).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	No air activity at all ...	...	...
	NIGHT :—		
	One place On the South coast of ENGLAND.	...	...
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	Malta ...	16 planes	1 plane; some damage to buildings.
6—3—41. (**Thursday**).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	East ANGLIA, KENT and **one point** in the LONDON area. ...	...	Casualties small and damage slight.
	NIGHT :—		
	A town in West ENGLAND and **a few other places** elsewhere.	...	No damage at all.
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	Malta ...	...	Only slight damage.
7—3—41. (**Friday**).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	A Convoy in the North Sea ...	1 plane	No loss or damage.

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. & Allied aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
7—3—41. (Friday)—*cont.*			
	One point in North-east SCOTLAND, MIDLANDS and **several other areas** along the East cost.	...	Slight damage. Many injured and some killed.
	NIGHT :—		
	Only slight air activity here and there.	...	...
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	MALTA	... Several planes damaged.	No damage. 1 plane.
8—3—41. (Saturday).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	Some places in the East coast	... 4 planes.	...
	NIGHT :—		
	LONDON area; **a number of points** in South and South-east ENGLAND and Eastern COUNTIES.	...	Fires started; casualties heavy. Slight damage and a few casualties.
9—3—41. (Sunday).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	A few places in the South-east coast and **a single point** in Eastern ENGLAND.	...	Very little damage. A few injured and a few killed.
	NIGHT :—		
	LONDON area and **a number of points** in the South coast of ENGLAND.	...	Extensive damage. Casualties few.
10—3—41. (Monday).			
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	English Channel and South-eastern ENGLAND.	...	Little damage and no casualties.
	NIGHT :—		
	PORTSMOUTH area, East coast, A South coast **town** and South WALES.	5 planes.	Heavy damage and some casualties.

SIDE LIGHTS.

Facts about ships. Pessimism about our shipping position is one of the commonest forms of defeatism one meets these days. German propaganda and Senatorial wranglings are partly to blame, but ignorance, and a disinclination to work out perfectly straightforward figures are more so. So, remembering that we are in the 18th month of a terrific war, it will do us positive good to compare our position both with the situation in the last war, and with the fundamental necessities of this :—

In 1917.	In 1940.
(*a*) BRITAIN had the assistance of the Italian, Japanese and French Navies—and later the U. S. A. fleet.	(*a*) The Royal Navy alone is available for escort work, and has also to guard us against invasion, and maintain Mediterranean supremacy.
(*b*) BRITAIN started the war with a greater merchant tonnage than in 1939, AND had the U. S. A. Mercantile Marine at her disposal all the time.	(*b*) We have no submarine bases in IRELAND, yet the Germans have the whole seaboard from SCANDINAVIA to the Bay of Biscay.
(*c*) GERMANY had no submarine bases along the Scandinavian, Channel or Atlantic coasts.	(*c*) The bomber menace, alone, or combined with U-Boat attack, is a far more formidable menace than ever before.
(*d*) Merchant shipping at sea had not to cope with the long-range bomber.	(*d*) Stuff we got from neutrals in the last war has, in this, to be carried and protected over far greater distances.
Yet total Allied and Neutral losses were 6,235,000 tons.	Yet total Allied and Neutral losses were only 3,591,000 tons.

In short, although Britain is dealing with submarine warfare under much more difficult conditions than in the last war, she is still able to keep her losses well below those of 1917.

Important memoranda. For a couple of months, weekly losses have been less than the average which totalled the figure given above. But we do not bank on a continuance of this improvement. Rather we must expect a rise in tonnage lost, as the spring develops.

(Later official news confirms this. Last week, losses were nearly *twice* the average. Ed.) **But this rise is catered for—and when we venture on the following conclusions, it is already offset in our minds.**

(1) BRITAIN can carry this war even if shipping losses are well in excess of anything yet experienced, because there is a large margin of shipping, both existing and building to set against further losses.

(2) With the steady and rapid adhesions to British Naval strength from her own dockyards, and from AMERICA, weekly mercantile losses will NOT average more than last year, though there may be some bad patches.

(3) The main importance of the shipping position is the amount of munitions and provisions they bring. Despite losses, British import figures are certainly being maintained. Moreover, the RESERVE position in both commodities is far stronger than it was in 1917. Those reserves remain intact *until* imports begin to decrease, and while they remain intact, the British war effort is in no way handicapped.

Substantiation Though we have printed some of the following points before, they will bear repetition here to add force to our plea for reasoned confidence in the shipping outlook.

(*a*) Since the end of the autumn the British Shipping Control has been consistently reducing freight-space for foodstuffs and raw materials—and of course for all luxuries—in favour of space for manufactured munitions, or iron and steel for them, and vehicle and aircraft parts. The import figures for December, for instance, prove this up to the hilt.

(*b*) There is still nearly a million tons of *Danish* shipping lying idle, mainly in American ports.

(*c*) CANADA is building 18 *large* ships. A quarter of a million tons seems to be a very conservative guess at their total capacity.

(*d*) The American Congress has just sanctioned a programme for building *200 large ships.* Such enormous expenditure can hardly be contemplated if the ships are merely to lie idle!

(*e*) Negotiations for neutral shipping to be utilised in non-war zones, and thus release British shipping for war-zones, look like materialising.

(*Later* items (*b*), (*d*), and (*e*) look even more encouraging since the passage of the Lease and Lend Bill. Ed.)

Add to all these, the greatly accelerated programme of building already in force in British and Dominion yards, and it ought not to be very long

before that apparent gap of 2 million tons between losses and fresh additions, so beloved of the pessimists, is bridged over.

* * * * * *

A great legislative event. The unwritten British Constitution was a fearful puzzle for history students when I was young. Until recently I never even *tried* to understand the American! But the career of the famous Lease and Lend Bill has brought out some points which are too important even for the casual reader to overlook. For instance, in ENGLAND the Commons, the first and Lower House, are the big noise in law-making, aren't they? The Lords, generally speaking, just follow suit. In AMERICA, on the other hand, the Lower House, of Representatives, is small fry compared with the Upper House, the Senate, and if American sentiment had *really* wanted to kibosh the great "Help BRITAIN" Bill, the Senate would certainly have done it, despite its easy passage in the House of Representatives.

The Senate's prestige. The triumphant passage of the Bill in the Senate was no mere party manoeuvre. Particularly in such epoch-making legislation, the American Senate has the ear of the public and the international press, and is much less the sounding-board of the party bosses than the House of Representatives. It is much more independent of the executive, and it has a special interest in Foreign Affairs, because all **Treaties with Foreign Powers have to be approved by a two-thirds majority in the Senate**. It is only natural therefore that practically all **American experts in foreign affairs are members of the Senate,** and equally natural that such experts should be able to insist on their views being heard in a House where there is no such thing as a rule of closure to set a time-limit on a debate, and where 'filibustering', i. e., proposing an endless chain of amendments right up to the end of the Session, would be a normal war of defeating an unpopular executive Bill.

War—if necessary! That there has been any heat at all in the speeches is largely due to the fanatical tenacity with which many Americans cherish the theory of Democracy, and the fear that the Bill might provide President Roosevelt with unconstitutional powers—"World's Power-Politician No. 1", he was alleged to be aiming to be! But the old dread lest he lead AMERICA into war had already lost a lot of its weight thanks largely to the caperings of JAPAN!—and responsible American opinions now neatly describe the atmosphere there as having cnanged from "Help ENGLAND by every means short of war" to "Make war if it is necessary to save ENGLAND."

Free and equal partners. It must be nice to be in partnership with GERMANY! The world is constantly told that you will march in triumph with her; that your friendship is indissoluble; that your aims are spiritually coincident, beneficent and irresistible. ITALY, especially, must be feeling how grand it is to be a free and equal partner of GERMANY'S. Behold the boons thereby conferred!

1. Mussolini has practically admitted that the Italian African Empire is lost, and that remaining Italian garrisons have no hope. Yet they are forced to hold out, merely to oblige the Germans by keeping some of our forces occupied.

2. At the same time, the Germans are so grateful that their *Luftwaffe* are carrying out indiscriminate raids on BENGHAZI and other captured towns, killing many Italian men, women and children.

3. According to American reports, ITALY is becoming more and more a German-occupied zone. Both there and in SICILY any British Air, Land or Sea offensive, to say nothing of the blockade, must hurt the Italians even more than our principal enemy.

4. The Germans are calmly using other bits of the Italian 'Empire' as though they were their own to dispose of. Quite a good slice of ALBANIA, for instance, is to be handed to YUGOSLAVIA, if she will sign on Ribbentrop's dotted line.

5. Nor will the conclusions of the egregious Dr. Clodius, the Nazi finance expert, put much heart into the German's "free and equal partner." The Italians are told contemptuously that they are an economic liability, that exports to GERMANY of fruit, green vegetables, mercury, sulphur, hemp and raw silk must be greatly speeded up (the wretched Italians have immediately been visited with a 50% 'cut' in vegetables, fruit and rice rations!), and that 'a settlement of accounts will be postponed until the end of the war.' In other words, while GERMANY supplies her with immediate essentials in munitions, planes and men, ITALY can whistle for payment for her exports, of which "about 90% of everything ITALY can send—(note the 'can send') are vitally important to Germany."

Is it any wonder that even some of ITALAY'S Fascist leaders are kicking? Admiral Reocardi, the Navy Minister told Admiral Raeder, at MERANO, in mid-February, that he must decline the latter's suggestion that the Italian fleet should be used more vigorously in the Mediterranean, as being likely to be too indecisive and costly. In other words the Germans were told to take their own risks first,—in a direct assault upon BRITAIN at home!

GERMAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE BALKANS.

WILL THE NAZIS STRIKE AT GREECE?

DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING THE AXIS.

WHY NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY CANNOT BE EXPLOITED

by

Major-General Sir Charles Gwynn.

Strategy covers a much wider field than the active employment of armed force. Its political and economic branches in modern warfare may have more influence on events than military action. All three branches are closely linked. In their co-ordination Hitler is a past-master.

The Balkan theatre, where events are moving to a crisis, affords an example.

The motive of the Nazi occupation of Rumania was primarily to ensure control of the oil supplies and other Rumanian products. It also checked whatever designs Russia had on the country. It struck at the formation of an anti-Nazi block having the support of Britain and Turkey.

It is now evident that the occupation of Rumania was not intended as the start of a far-reaching campaign during the winter against Turkey and towards the Iraq oil-fields and Egypt, co-ordinated with the Italian invasion of Egypt, from the west.

It did provide a base for military operations. **But essentially it was a stroke of political and economic strategy.**

Italy's disasters have necessitated a change in Germany's strategy. Germany is compelled to come to the assistance of her ally. For Italy's total collapse would leave Britain in such complete control of the Mediterranean that it would again become a main alley of her sea communication. By shortening voyages that would be equivalent to adding many ships to Britain's Navy and to her mercantile marine.

Yet even now **Germany would evidently prefer to attain her object by threats rather than by the actual use of force.**

She has applied pressure to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia through her army assembled in Rumania. But she is not yet at war with Greece.

It would suit Hitler better to induce Greece to come to terms with Italy, and to allow Germany the use of her territory, than to invade her forcibly.

Germany may even hope by threats to induce Turkey to renounce her engagements with Britain. She is of course prepared to use force if threats, as we may evidently expect, fail to have any effect on Greece and Turkey. But Germany is under no illusion that the invasion of Greece, or an attack on Turkey, would be easy undertakings.

She has refused to resort to force, while it would entail winter operations in the Balkans. It has become therefore some what of a race **whether Italy will be able to escape more disasters in Albania before Germany can come more actively to her assistance**.

If Greece reduces Italy to impotence in Albania, she will evidently greatly increase her power of resistance in case a German attack develops.

Should her successes have the effect of stiffening Yugoslavia's resistance to German pressure, her position would be further greatly improved. The military dangers that threaten Greece are, firstly, a resumption of the Italian offensive, including an advance through South-west Yugoslavia and Monastir towards Salonika, should Yugoslavia offer no opposition. Clearly the further the Italians are driven back the more this danger is reduced. Already the Greeks hold strong positions and cover (though to no great depths) the easiest approaches to Salonika.

Secondly, a German advance on Salonika by the Vardar Valley. But this again depends on the consent of Yugoslavia.

Thirdly, a German attack on Salonika and Eastern Macedonia and Thrace through Bulgaria. The Struma Valley affords up to the frontier good lines of approach both by railway and road, but on the frontier a highly defensible position provided by a pass would be encountered, and elsewhere the approaches are difficult.

Should Yugoslavia resist attempts to use her territory, then the Axis forces would not only have fewer and less easy lines of invasion, but they would have fewer opportunities of exploiting numerical superiority and of co-operation.

An attempt at invasion from Bulgaria alone would encounter many physical difficulties, including the passage of the Balkan and Rhodope mountains and the malarial marshes of the lower Struma and Vardar valleys.

The German lines of advance, her bases and oil supplies in Rumania would be vulnerable to air attacks, and Turkey's position on the flank constitutes a potential danger.

Greece's situation therefore is by no means as precarious as the immense superiority of her enemies would seem to indicate.

At the eleventh hour it is conceivable that Germany may hesitate to resort to force, especially if her war of nerves fails to affect Yugoslavia and Turkey..

Britain remains Germany's chief enemy, and war with Greece might result only in an entanglement which would bring her few advantages in the main issue. For Britain would still remain in occupation of the Greek islands and in a dominating position in the Mediterranean, though to some extent more exposed to air attacks.

WILL GERMANY STRIKE?

The danger of a German drive towards the Iraq oil-fields and Egypt can be overrated. The distances and the difficulties of employing large numbers are immense. Even should German forces reach the oil-fields during the course of the war, it is doubtful if oil supplies from that source could reach Germany in time to affect the issue, bearing in mind the chances of sabotage and difficulties of transportation.

The conquest and occupation of Greece would, in fact, afford few far-reaching advantages to Germany, though it would have the effect of bringing relief to her junior partner.

If Germany is forced to take military action, it will, I suspect, be against her will.

BRITAIN AND U. S. TO POOL NAVAL STRENGTH?

REPORTED DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON

ALTERNATIVE SCHEME: MORE DESTROYERS FOR BRITAIN.

[In view of the recent passage of the Lend and Lease Bill, these on-the-spot American opinions have even greater interest and force. Ed.]

The Washington correspondent of the ***Daily Mail*** *writes:—*

THE United States Government is drawing near to a decision to sell or lease more destroyers to Britain. This decision may be announced immediately on the enactment of the Lease and Lend Bill, if not before.

I have definite information that President Roosevelt has privately committed himself to the sale or lease of up to twenty destroyers.

This attitude was reflected by Admiral Stark, Chief of the United States Navy to-day, after a long talk with the President. The Admiral is one of the men who hitherto has opposed the project.

To-day, on leaving the White House he said: "It looks more and more necessary to reinforce the British destroyer fleet".

COLONEL KNOX'S VIEWS.

Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, is still opposed to parting with more destroyers, but evidently the President is pressing him to change his view.

Government is looking for some good reason for reversing its earlier policy. It is possible that an announcement will be made that destroyer construction is now farther advanced than was anticipated, which is a fact; consequently, ships of this type can now be spared with less risk than before.

The United States government, it is believed, would prefer a far-reaching scheme of pooling naval strength, under which Britain's capital ships would be exchanged for American light cruisers and destroyers.

There are doubts, however, that the plan might prove impracticable.

"JOINT AIMS OF TWO NATIONS".

The pooling scheme has been discussed at length by members of the United States government, naval experts, and representatives of the British government.

The plan is based on the consideration that the joint aims of the two nations are:—

1. To keep the Atlantic sea-lanes between the United States and Britain open, so that Britain can receive a great flow of American munitions and supplies.

2. To create a preponderance of American naval power in the Pacific, either to challenge or check Japan's ambitions.

The constitution of the British and American fleets makes the exchange most desirable in the opinion of experts here.

If the United States is to stand guard in the Pacific and possibly act against Japan there, she needs battleships. Britain, on the other hand, while being well furnished with battleships, needs more lighter craft like destroyers and cruisers to protect her convoys.

Several straws in the wind to-day indicate how much the exchange plan is favoured.

NAVAL "UNION NOW".

General Hugh Johnson, the newspaper columnist, who has many friends in the United States armed services, wrote to-day:

"My hunch is that very shortly after the Lease and Lend Bill is passed we are to see one of the most startling switches of British and American naval equipment ever yet rumoured or imagined.

"What we are possibly facing here is an Anglo-American pool of the fighting ships of both navies. When this bill is passed we shall have naval 'union now' and be up to the eyebrows in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Arthur Krock, the Chief Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, also states to-day that such a pooling plan has been discussed at length, but adds that the alternative scheme is more likely to find final favour.

The favoured plan according to this correspondent, springs from the following argument:

"The blockade and naval conditions in the Atlantic call for the use of smaller warships specially cruisers, destroyers and mosquito boats. For our own protection, so long as the British navy is afloat and formidable, we can afford to release to the British several vessels of this character on an exchange basis.

"Also, for every British destroyer, whether it is one of those which we have already transferred or one of their own building which comes to American shipyards for repair, as provided in the Lease and Lend Bill, we can release one of those now under the American flag.

"This substitution plan would meet both Mr. Wendell Willkie's proposal that we should despatch five or ten destroyers to the British every month, and the point made by Colonel Knox, that we cannot spare any".

U. S. DESTROYER STRENGTH.

I understand that the United States navy has now 204 destroyers under construction, and 160 at present in service.

Over and above these 160 the navy has taken over 45 destroyers similar to those sent to Britain, and is rapidly converting and modernising them.

Admiral Stark was asked to-day if more United States warships were likely to be transferred to Britain.

"Not for the moment," he said, "but what will happen later I cannot tell. Trying to legislate for what may happen six months from now is impossible".

Admiral Stark was one of those who called at the White House to-day and conferred with the President.

In the Senate to-day, Senator Nye said that Britain has already made a request that the United States warships should convoy British vessels.

Senator Hiram Johnson (initiator of the Johnson Act) forecast that the British navy will eventually get more destroyers from the United States.

"We assume" he said, "that Colonel Knox will have to withdraw his objections, and Mr. Willkie's request for more destroyers will have to be complied with".

GERMANS ANNOYED.

Last night the news bulletin issued on the German radio was interrupted and the following statement was made :

"Before we continue the news we have to state that in speeches made during the last few days in the United States Senate, words unbearable to Germany's honour have fallen from the lips of different speakers, inciting the American nation against the Germans. These are dangerous words in the Senate. They are not dangerous to us because, as the Fuehrer said in his last speech, he has foreseen all possible eventualities and combinations against Germany.

"But they are dangerous for the United States. The gentlemen over the ocean will realise one day that National Socialist States under the German 'new order' will be the final victors".

HITLER: SENATORS' OPINIONS.

Here are some of the statements made about Hitler in the Senate:

Senator Austin: We have no faith in this man Hitler. We are opposed to his system of slavery.

Senator Barkly: Hitler is an international marauder. The only way to stop him is to defeat him.

Senator Claud Pepper: To be enslaved by Hitler would be worse than death.

SEA POWER.

"Victory will go to the side that is best equipped to fight at a distance from its base, and that side is the British Empire." In these words, spoken recently at Aligarh by General Sir Roger Wilson, a soldier pays tribute to sea power, and each passing week of war drives home the lesson of history. Threats from the Far East bring thousands of Australian fighting men across the sea to strengthen Malaya. Men of the same stock fight in Africa beside their comrades from India, Britain and other lands of the world-wide commonwealth, using first-class weapons shipped to them in the teeth of every Axis boast and menace. The Empire Air Scheme takes yet other Australians, trains them in Canada, sends them to England and thence to any front that needs them. And meanwhile, in the midst of war, India's sea-borne trade increases.

A MIGHTY TASK.

Sea power is behind the victories in Africa and Greece, and sea power is the key to the total victory to come. To control the sea-routes necessary to our own purposes and to deny their effective use to the enemy is not, and never has been, to guarantee that no enemy vessel shall operate in the enormous expanse of the world's oceans. **The Royal Navy is at present doing the work that five first-class navies carried out at the end of the last war, and doing it uncommonly well.** It has been strengthened in the last two months by 20 new warships, including battleships and aircraft carriers, all built to time in the British yards that the Nazis have so often claimed to have put out of action. But the best and largest navy in the world cannot ensure immunity against a fleet that refuses action and operates from the comparative shelter of its ports in forays of single ships or small squadrons, under cover of darkness or fog or under the surface of the water itself.

DEEDS NOT WORDS.

That is why the British Government has never permitted itself undue optimism in the matter of protecting shipping along all the world's routes. Refusal to abandon this attitude implies no failure to appreciate at its true worth the astonishing record of the Royal Navy and the Merchant Service whose work goes on day after day, patiently, efficiently, indomitably. Even the fact that in proportion to the size of the respective merchant fleets Axis shipping losses this year have been more than three times as great as the British has been soberly stated. The silent service is not given to boasting. They cheerfully leave that to Berlin.

ENEMY CONTRAST.

Berlin has not been backward in its claims. Only Hitler's express conviction that the mass of mankind is incurably stupid could account for the ridiculous Nazi pretence to have paralysed British sea power. While the German announcer intones his bulletin, 233 ships are collecting barnacles in neutral ports as they have been doing for more than a year. Some of them are lying up in that very area of Spain and the Azores where the Nazis laid the scene of a recent exaggeration These ships are idle, useless, expensive and very bad propaganda for Germany. Why do they not return to their home ports ? The Royal Navy knows the answer.

HOW RUMANIA BECAME A GERMAN PROTECTORATE?

SIR REGINALD HOARE'S STATEMENT.

PEOPLE'S REGRET AT BREAK WITH BRITAIN.

(*The Istanbul correspondent of the* **Times** *cabled on February 17.*)

SIR Reginald Hoare, who arrived here on the 16th from Rumania, has made the following statement to me.

"Leaving Rumania I could not help feeling a deep sorrow for the sad plight of the Rumanian people. Rumania is now, in fact, if not in name, a German Protectorate. The country is entirely in the German grip. If the Rumanian Government still possess the right of the initiative or of action in secondary matters, it is only because the Germans do not wish to bother about them ; in everything that counts the German word is supreme.

"Of course since the middle of October the British Government would have been justified in breaking off diplomatic relations with Rumania, but they postponed the step until the recent massive concentrations of German troops, and the use of Rumanian territory as a potential base for war operations rendered it inevitable. The Germans seemed to be rather anxious to retain us there, probably for fear of attacks by the R. A. F. after our departure ; this is borne out by the fact that our Legation and Consulates had not many causes of complaint about German interference.

"General Antonescu seemed to be genuinely sorry for our departure, for **the Rumanian people almost unanimously hate the Germans and pray for our victory.** This is not only true for the 'French educated' higher classes, but for the popular masses, and even for some sections of the Iron Guard—the Transylvanians.

"The present state of affairs came about by a gradual process of penetration, during which the Germans tried first to rule through the Iron Guard and then through a combination of General Antonescu with the Iron Guard, and finally through General Antonescu without Iron Guard. This last decision was taken during General Antonescu's recent visit to Germany, on the condition that at Hitler's command there would be no bloodshed. For this reason the Iron Guard revolt last January—which incidentally had been fostered by some members of the Nazi Party—was not quelled immediately for fear of disobeying Hitler's orders. The Germans are now backing General Antonescu, but they are keeping the Iron Guard in cold storage for eventual use in the future.

"The present German forces in Rumania are estimated at between 300,000 and 400,000; of course they may increase at any time, and the Rumanian Government is quite helpless about this. The German version about the concentration of these troops is that they are meant for defensive purposes only, without any other object. It is added, however, of course, that Germany cannot let Italy collapse. The Rumanian railways are entirely in German hands, passenger trains running in the most irregular way; there is talk about rationing petrol, which will also paralyse travelling by road. The food situation is becoming worse every day."

To my question whether Rumania could have averted the present state of affairs, and whether she might have used the threat of destruction of her oil wells as a means of staving off the German stranglehold, Sir Reginald Hoare replied, "I think so. Some of the things that happened in Rumania were probably unavoidable, but had she possessed a statesman like Metaxas she might have played her oil trump in such a way as to alleviate some of the misfortunes which have befallen her, and at least she might have retained her independence and self-respect."

BLUE-PRINT FOR BRUTOCRACY

NAZI MINISTER'S REVELATIONS

"WE MEAN SLAVERY".

"Please do not interpret the word 'slave' as a parable or rhetorical term", said the German Agriculture Minister Darré, in a nakedly explicit exposition of Nazi intentions towards the world given in a speech to a group of high Party officials early in May, 1940. **"We actually have in mind"**, he went on, **"a modern form of mediaeval slavery**, which we must and we will introduce because we urgently need it to fulfil our great tasks."

Darré's speech was published in the American magazine *Life* on December 9, 1940, when **the Nazis made strenuous efforts to suppress the revelation**. The article, said *Life*, was far more important than a mere journalistic scoop. "It is a fair sample of the kind of doctrine that is currently being voiced by highly placed members of the Nazi Government."

In the new German "living-space", which according to Darré was to consist by the autumn of 1940 of "two continents, with the exception of Soviet Russia", completely new methods will be introduced. "All soil and industrial property of inhabitants of non-German origin will be confiscated without exception and distributed primarily among the worthy members of the Party and soldiers who were accorded honours for bravery in this war."

"Thus a new aristocracy of German masters (*Herrenvolk*) will be created. **This aristocracy will have slaves assigned to it. These slaves will be their property and will consist of landless non-German nationals.**"

ILLITERACY FOR NON-GERMANS.

"These slaves", Darré further informs us, "will by no means be denied the blessings of illiteracy. Higher education will in future be reserved only for the German population of Europe.........German masters, accustomed to command, and in case of necessity to strike inconsiderately where striking is necessary, will be fine pillars to uphold Germany's rule of the world".

Examples of Misleading Statements in Enemy Broadcasts to India and the Near East for the period February 24—March 2, 1941.

A.—BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH.

HITLER EXPLAINS.

HITLER—who last year boasted of a secret weapon that would end the war by Christmas, who was to be in Buckingham Palace by August, and whose radio has destroyed London on two distinct occasions and sunk more of Britain's cruisers than she ever possessed—now limits himself to threatening that he "will face Britain wherever she touches the Continent". His failure to invade Britain he explains by remarking naively that "the British have transferred their victories elsewhere, and we have had to run after them". **But the four million Britons under arms who have not been "transferred" as well as the home-based R. A. F. and the Royal Navy, doubtless explain why the Germans have preferred to "run after" possibly easier successes elsewhere.**

THE FAT BOY AGAIN.

After painting a lurid picture of what is in store for Britain—"the greatest land, sea and air offensive the world has ever witnessed", with "simultaneous attacks on Britain, Iceland, Gibraltar, Greece and British possessions in Africa", carried out by "tens of thousands of German planes", and an "onslaught by 300 to 400 German and Italian submarines on Britain's vital supply routes"—Berlin on Feb. 28 quoted an American news agency as saying that every one in Britain was "completely at a loss to know how such a German offensive could be countered".

Britain withstood mass air attacks for six months. More than three thousand Nazi planes have been destroyed—an average of three for every R. A. F. machine lost. This air offensive has not seriously impaired either the productive capacity or the morale of the nation. For eighteen months German-U-boats have been attacking British merchant ships. Six out of every seven British vessels still remain intact, without allowing for replacements and acquisitions.

Nazi propaganda being what it is, there is no reason to suppose that any "American news agency" ever cast doubts on Britain's readiness to meet any German onslaught; but this is what an American journalist and film commentator, Quentin Reynolds, told the *Brooklyn Eagle* on his return from London

on Janurry 16 : "**Every Englishman is itching for Hitler to carry out his oft-repeated invasion threat.........The sooner Germany tries to invade, the sooner England will win the war.**"

ROME INVENTS A QUARREL.

Rome alleged on Feb. 24 that Mr. Eden had to go to Cairo "to settle a quarrel between Generals Wavell and Wilson about the future operations in Libya".

While one appreciates Italy's desperate anxiety to learn just why Mr. Eden went to Egypt—not to mention why he has since gone to Turkey and Greece—it is permissible to remark that past operations in Libya certainly do not suggest any difference of opinion between General Wavell and the general officers under his command. Listeners will recall that, in his recent broadcast, Mr. Churchill spoke of **a telegram from General Wavell paying high tribute to the co-operation he had received from General Wilson.**

THE TRUTH AT LAST.

Referring once again to the German attack on a British convoy off the Azores on Feb. 13, the German radio says on March 2 that the British Government "have been hiding the unpleasant truth, which is that *eight* were sunk out of this convoy". **If only eight were sunk, as the Nazi radio now admits, then why have the Germans all along claimed to have sunk 13?** The British Government has not published final figures for this incident, since a few ships, though still unaccounted for, are not yet overdue.

B.—BROADCASTS IN ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

BRITAIN'S CAUSE.

The Nazis' Hindustani broadcast of Feb. 25 puts into the mouth of an American Senator the statement that England is fighting to preserve her trade.

The Germans have a way of twisting statements to suit their own purpose but no less a person than the British Premier himself has given a lie to this insinuation. Mr. Butler speaking in the Commons presented the fact in its true perspective when he said that the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (who had offered to mediate not only in the Far East, but anywhere in the world) had been informed by Mr. Churchill that "in a cause for which we are fighting—**a cause in no way concerned with territory, trade, or material gains, but affecting the whole future of humanity**—there can be no question of compromise or parley".

ECONOMIC "VICTORY" OF GERMANY.

The Nazi newspaper, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, while commenting on the Italo-German economic talks, states, according to the German broadcast of Feb 27, that economic victory will be won by the Axis powers. There is no doubt that Italy will soon discover, as have Germany's other collaborators, that Germany's economic victories are always at the expense of the countries which co-operate with her. A year ago Rumania was one of the biggest exporters of meat and wheat, but she now suffers four meatless days per week, eats standard black bread and exports all her food to one customer, Germany. Denmark, after eight months of occupation, has a German debt of £ 20 millions. Theoretically Denmark is entitled to buy goods in Germany, but the latter cannot supply the goods required.

GREEK TRIBUTE TO BRITISH AID.

The German broadcast of Feb. 27 reported the London correspondent of the Associated Press as having written that Greece had intentionally refused offers of British help. Far from this being so, the Greek newspaper *Estia* goes out of its way to pay a tribute to the quality of British aid. It says: **"The Italians well know the quality of British support to Greece. They see it every day, at Taranto, in Sicily, the Dodecanese and Albania".**

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

WAR FILMS

The War Information Bureau have great pleasure in announcing that with the sanction and kind assistance of the Darbar their Lecturers will shortly be able to take round with them a series of Film programmes illustrative of the War in its various aspects.

These programmes consist in part of actual cinematography in war zones by the 20th Century Fox Film Corporation, and partially of cognate Indian subjects photographed by the organisation set up for the purpose by the Government of India, through the Bombay Government. There are three separate pictures in each programme, and the Bureau feel sure that they will prove a welcome addition to the lectures, and to the Weekly Bulletin.

The War Fund Entertainments Committee have been good enough to present the Bureau with a Station-wagon in which to convey the projectors, screens and films to the lecture centres, but in order to facilitate the working of the new lecture-programme necessary to provide some sixty centres in the State with a fresh cinema-show once every month, we particularly request the public of Pudukkottai to :—

(*a*) note that the usual time of the lecture will be **6.00 p. m.** or **6.30 p. m.** (as notified).

(*b*) **be absolutely punctual** at these lectures, since the War Information Bureau van will have to serve two centres on same evening.

Practical experience proves that at least one thousand persons can see these films with comfort, so when you hear of a Lecture announced for your village,

COME........BUT BE PUNCTUAL.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai State War Information Bureau.

1941—

LECTURE XXXV.

March	...15, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
	16, Sunday ...	Annavasal	...	6.00 p. m.
		Kilakkurichi	...	6.30 p. m.
	17, Monday ...	College (B) Tamil	...	10.25 a. m.
		Rani's School	...	10.25 a. m.
		Nirpalani	...	6.00 p. m.
		Avoor	...	6.30 p. m.
	18, Tuesday ...	Alangudi	...	6.00 p. m
		Rasiamangalam	...	6.30 p. m.
	19, Wednesday.	Kulipirai	...	6.00 p. m.
		Sundaram	...	6.30 p. m.
	20, Thursday ...	Ramachandrapuram	...	6.00 p. m.
		Rayavaram	...	6.30 p. m.
	21, Friday ...	C. S. M. School	...	10.00 a. m.
		Madagam	...	6.00 p. m.
		Yembal	...	6.30 p. m.

LECTURE XXXVI.

22, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
23, Sunday ...	Kottaikkadu	...	6.00 p. m.
	Karambakkudi	...	6.30 p. m.
24, Monday ...	College (B) Tamil	...	10.25 a. m.
	Rani's School	...	10.25 a. m.
	Narthamalai	...	6.00 p. m.
	Thayinipatti	...	6.30 p. m.
25, Tuesday ...	Semmattividuthi	...	6.00 p. m.
	Malayur	...	6.30 p. m.
26, Wednesday.	Chery School	...	5.30 p. m.
	Konnayur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Vegupatti	...	6.30 p. m.
27, Thursday ...	Killanur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Killukottai	...	6.30 p. m.
28, Friday ...	C. S. M. School	...	10.00 a. m.
	Karaiyur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Keelathaniam	...	6.30 p. m.

SUPPORT
THE STATE WAR EFFORT

BY TAKING TICKETS IN THE

GREAT WAR FUND RAFFLE

Conducted by
The State War Fund Entertainments Committee,
with the authority and under the auspices of the Darbar

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100	,,	,,	15	,,

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